

THE 1891 MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF HILLHEAD BAPTIST CHURCH *Peter Hillis*

| St. George's Free Church | St. George's Parish Church | Barony Church | | Barony Church |
|--------------------------|---|---|--|---|
| | | Dr. John Burns' (minister of the Barony 1773-1839) sons James and George Burns | | Thomas Dunlop ran a shipping business trading with the West Indies. His sons Robert and Thomas, later Sir Thomas Dunlop, expanded this trade and formed the |
| James Burns | James Burns In 1843 James Burns left the Church of Scotland for St. George's Free Church. He later left there for St. Peter's Free Church. | Shipping to Liverpool, Ireland and the Highlands. In 1831 James Burns became an elder in St. George's Parish Church. | George Burns' sister married David MacBrayne. His son, also David, took over the running of Burns' Highland trade in 1851. | Clan Line. Their first ship was called the Clan MacLeod. The Clan Line was later renamed and divided into the |
| | | George Burns joined up with David MacIver and Samuel Cunard to form a company to transport the mail to America: out of this developed the | David MacBrayne and Company | Queen Line and the Cadogan Line, |
| 1970s | | Cunard Line | Caledonian/MacBrayne | |

DIAGRAM 1 – Shipping Connection in Seven Glasgow Churches 1850s-1970s

| Wellington Street United Presbyterian Church (i) | | Cambridge Street United Presbyterian Church | Wellington Street United Presbyterian Church (ii) | Regent Place United Presbyterian Church | Elgin Place Congregational Church |
|---|---|---|--|---|-----------------------------------|
| John Black's sons formed | Thomas and John Henderson formed the | James Allan └───┬───┘ And brothers formed the | Alexander Allan. └───┬───┘ He married Jane Smith who was the daughter of Robert Smith. | Robert Smith and his brother └───┬───┘ | George Smith └───┬───┘ |
| The Glasgow Steam Ship Company. It was taken over by the Donaldson Line which also bought out Allan's South American connection in 1913. └───┬───┘ Donaldson Line | Anchor Line └───┬───┘ It took over the Donaldson Line to form the | Allan Line with shipping interests in Canada and South America. The trade to South America was bought out by the Donaldson Line. Allan's Canadian trade amalgamated with the | Alexander Allan and Jane Smith had a son, Robert Smith Allan, who became a partner in the City Line in 1877. | Formed the shipping firm the City Line which traded with India. | |
| | Donaldson/Anchor Line └───┬───┘ | | | In 1901 the City Line was taken over by the Ellerman Line. | |
| | The Anchor Line | Canadian Pacific Railway | | Ellerman Line | |

The 1891 membership roll of Hillhead Baptist Church

PETER HILLIS, M.A., Ph.D.

Introduction

Research into church and society evolved through several stages in the final decades of the twentieth century. The period began with a general assumption of working-class alienation from a formal church connection. Edward Wickham claimed that Sheffield Churches failed to attract the working class while A.A. MacLaren's investigation into Church of Scotland and Free Church Kirk Sessions revealed a minimal working-class presence.¹ Later studies modified this picture of working class alienation from religion with Callum Brown claiming that:

It is still axiomatic of many historians' analysis of nineteenth century religion that the vast majority of the working class did not go to church and that the vast majority of the churchgoers were not working class. The first statement is probably true, the second is becoming decreasingly likely.²

In the late 1980s the focus of study began to move away from relating church membership solely to social class, looking instead at gender as a determinant of religious adherence. Clive Field highlighted the numerical superiority of women in Baptist and Congregational nonconformity in England while Callum Brown and Jayne Stephenson examined the factors influencing the church connection among women.³

¹ Edward Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City* (London, 1957) and A.A. MacLaren, *Religion and Social Class, The Disruption Years in Aberdeen*, (London, 1974).

² Callum G. Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* (London, 1987), 165.

³ Clive Field, "Adam and Eve: Gender in the English Free Church Constituency, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44 (1993) and Callum G. Brown and Jayne D. Stephenson, "Sprouting Wings? Women and Religion in Scotland c.1890-1950", in *Women in Scottish Society 1880-1945*, edd. E. Breitenback and E. Gordon (Edinburgh, 1972).

This article analyses the membership roll of Hillhead Baptist Church in 1891. Unlike many other churches, whose communicant rolls cover several decades, Hillhead Baptist Church produced annual membership lists. In his 1893 survey of the Churches in Glasgow, Robert Howie noted that the “Baptist and Congregational Churches are very strict regarding membership” and were conscientious in “purging” their rolls of non-attenders.⁴ Consequently, the annual membership list provides a relatively accurate snapshot of the congregation with the 1891 roll chosen since it provided the first year after the Church’s formation to coincide with the national population Census. This roll recorded names and addresses, but not occupations which were traced through the Census and other sources such as Post Office Directories and Electoral Rolls. The roll recorded 387 members of whom 358 were positively identified and classified using the table given in Appendix 1. Information on Church members was entered into a computer database partly to facilitate searches into relatively complex patterns of adherence. The analysis goes beyond examining social class and gender since it provides an insight into the relationship between members, their families and households. It also examines inter-relationships between Church members which stretched into business and commerce, alongside the relatively high turnover of people on the roll. Finally, the article suggests how evidence from Hillhead Baptist Church could influence further research into church and society.

By the 1890s the Baptist Church in Glasgow had expanded from the first “English” and “Scottish” Churches, established in the 1800s and 1810s, to 9 congregations in 1870⁵. By 1891 there were 11 churches with an estimated membership of 2,983.⁶ The Church in Hillhead was the newest member of the city’s Baptist community in 1891.

Hillhead Baptist Church

On 6 December 1882 members of the Baptist Church agreed to establish a church in Hillhead “which would meet the wants of the

⁴ Robert Howie, *The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland*, (Glasgow, 1993), p. xxvii.

⁵ *The Baptists in Scotland, A History*, ed. D.W. Bebbington (Glasgow, 1988), 163, 166.

⁶ Robert Howie, *The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland*, 42.

many families residing in that neighbourhood as well as Kelvinside and Partick".⁷ Many of the first members transferred from Adelaide Place Baptist Church situated closer to the city centre, but they took care to note that the breakaway was "made with the most brotherly feelings of regard towards the church meeting at Adelaide Place, Glasgow".⁸ Hillhead Baptist Church followed in the footsteps of many other churches which had moved to the city's West End in response to continued westward migration by middle-class families, a product in turn of Glasgow's burgeoning commercial district. George Gordon noted the spreading commercial land use which "marched up the slope towards Blythswood Square and onward ... to the Victorian residential properties at Park Circus and Park Terrace".⁹ Members of the Church contributed to the westward migration. Between 1870 and 1886 William Shanks, a muslin manufacturer, moved from 70 Robertson Street to 4 Sutherland Terrace, Dowanhill. In the period 1865-1880 David Hill Jack, an accountant, moved from 49 Arlington Street to 18 Carrington Street and finally to 10 Broomhill Avenue. George Newland's home addresses included 84 Buccleuch Street, 6 Lynedoch Crescent and 6 Queen Margaret Crescent between 1855 and 1891 although his legal practice remained at 135 St Vincent Street.¹⁰ This trend found parallels in other churches. In 1863 many middle class members of Cambridge Street United Presbyterian Church founded Lansdowne United Presbyterian Church at Kelvin Bridge on Great Western Road with its social origins giving rise to the following poem chalked on the Church wall before the opening service:

This Church is not built for the poor and needy,
But for the rich and Dr. Eadie.
The rich may come in and take their seat
But the poor must go to Cambridge Street.¹¹

⁷ Minute of the Church Meeting, Hillhead Baptist Church, 6/12/1882. At the time of writing this article the records for the Church were held in the Glasgow City Archives but were uncatalogued.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ George Gordon, "The City of Glasgow", in *Strathclyde Changing Horizons*, edd. John Butt and George Gordon (Edinburgh, 1985), 61.

¹⁰ Post Office Directories for the relevant years.

¹¹ Poem quoted in *The Glasgow Herald*, 14 Nov. 1912.

Cambridge Street was only one of several churches which relocated in the West End. In 1884, for example, Wellington United Presbyterian Church moved from Wellington Street to University Avenue. Nonetheless, the West End was not an exclusive middle-class area since it retained concentrations of working-class housing, notably around Kelvinbridge and the south end of Byres Road towards Partick. An occupational analysis of Park Road at Kelvinbridge in 1881 revealed a lower middle class and working class area exemplified by occupations including shopkeepers, cabinet makers, masons, gardeners, clerks, dressmakers and seamstresses.¹² Commenting on the West End, George Gordon noted that it was flanked "to the south and north by working- class industrial districts focused respectively around the River Clyde and the Forth and Clyde Canal".¹³ This had a significant impact on Hillhead Baptist Church which established mission churches in Partick and Port Dundas so widening the Church's social base.

The Church was located in the heart of the West End in Cresswell Street, just off Byres Road, with its membership expanding from 61 in 1884, to 387 in 1891 and 468 in 1897.¹⁴ Subscriptions towards the founding of the Church came from all over Britain including £150 from Henry Roberts in London and D. Fernie in Liverpool. The majority of initial subscriptions came from people living in the West End and illustrate a Church with an upper middle-class core. The largest donations of £1,000 each, plus £100 towards the organ, came from Charles and Alexander Rose who lived at Bellhaven Crescent and Huntly Gardens respectively, owners of the Clyde Paper Company at Rutherglen.¹⁵ Large donations also came from William Tulloch, £200, Frederick Roberts, £100, and John Alexander, £60. William Tulloch was a partner in James Anderson and Company, starch and gum manufacturers,¹⁶ John Alexander was a Doctor at the Western

¹² 1881 Census, Glasgow, 644 9 49, 50, 51.

¹³ George Gordon, "The City of Glasgow", 61.

¹⁴ Hillhead Baptist Church Manual, 1884, 1891, 1897.

¹⁵ Hillhead Baptist Church, List of Founding Members 1883, 1891 Post Office Directory and 1891 Census, Glasgow, 646 3 45 (Charles Rose) and 646 3 46 (Alexander Rose).

¹⁶ 1891 Post Office Directory and 1891 Census, Glasgow, 646 3 44.

Infirmary¹⁷ and Frederick Robarts had been appointed as the first Minister of the Church.

In line with the expanding membership the number of managers grew from 5 in 1884 to 13 in 1897 with their socio-economic status predominantly middle class: see Table 1.

Managers did not represent the social composition of the congregation. The classification system, shown in Appendix 1, which categorised people as high status (upper middle class), low status (lower middle class) and working class produced the following profile for those church members in employment/direct receipt of income:

TABLE 2 – Socio-Economic Status of Church Members in Employment/Direct Receipt of Income

| | Total | Status | | |
|---|-------|--------|------|---------------|
| | | High | Low | Working Class |
| Percentage of total church membership (387) | 211 | 81 | 68 | 62 |
| | 54.5 | 20.9 | 17.6 | 16.0 |

Richard Hunter and Annie Lamont illustrate the wide ranging social make-up. Richard Hunter, a Church Manager, see Table 1 on page 189, was the sole partner of Hunter and Barr, manufacturers and warehousemen, Jamaica Street, a firm founded by his father in 1843. The Company employed over 1,000 people and had factories in Edinburgh, Leeds, Newcastle and Belfast. Richard Hunter characterised Victorian philanthropy as a founder member of the Sailor’s Orphan Society in addition to acting as honorary treasurer and secretary of the Glasgow Seamen’s Friend Society. Richard Hunter and his wife were the only members of the household recorded on the 1891 Church roll. Their three children were too young to join the Church and neither of the two servants, Jane Arnot and Margaret McGregor, were members.¹⁸ The Church connection between Church members and their servants will be discussed later in this article.

¹⁷ 1891 Census, Glasgow, 646 3 43.
¹⁸ 1891 Post Office Directory, 1891 Census, Glasgow, 644 9 48, and *The Bailie*, 14 April 1897.

Annie Lamont illustrates the opposite end of the social spectrum since in 1886 the Managers agreed that Mrs Wilkie, Mrs Fyfe and Annie Lamont should receive “£1.0.0. every two months until further notice”.¹⁹ Mrs Wilkie and Mrs Fyfe could not be traced but Annie Lamont was a boarder with the Aitken family at 32 Kelvinside Avenue. John Aitken, head of the house and an iron moulder, was not a member of the Church. Annie Lamont worked as a knitter but she was blind.²⁰ Despite its location in a middle-class area within the West End the Church’s broad social base partly resulted from its Mission Churches in Partick and Port Dundas as illustrated by Esther Barclay, a baker’s shopwoman who lived at 361 Dumbarton Road,²¹ and David and Margaret Bell, 20 Canal Street, Port Dundas. David Bell worked as a Foundry Labourer.²² Nevertheless, this occupational analysis based on members in employment masks a more complex pattern of allegiance. Table 1 indicates a difference of 176 between total Church membership and those in employment. This deficit comprised 29 members who could not be traced with the remaining 147 directly related to those in employment. These 147 members were, with 3 exceptions, women. The majority of these women were wives and daughters who did not work but allocating these family members the same social status as the main income earner produced the following analysis of Church members:

TABLE 3 – Socio-Economic Status of All Members,
Hillhead Baptist Church, 1891

| Total Church Membership | Found | Status | | |
|-------------------------|-------|--------|------|---------------|
| | | High | Low | Working Class |
| 387 | 358 | 169 | 102 | 87 |
| Percentage | 92.3 | 43.6 | 26.3 | 22.4 |

Within the high status category the large merchant-manufacturer group dominated; teachers, clerks, governesses and housekeepers made up the largest proportion of low status members with servants filling most working class occupations. This last finding points to arguably

¹⁹ Managers’ Minute Book, Hillhead Baptist Church, 17 Feb. 1886.
²⁰ 1891 Census, Glasgow, 622 1 10 and 11.
²¹ 1891 Census, Glasgow, 646 3 32.
²² *Ibid.*, 644 6 61.

the most significant social characteristic of the Church, namely, the numerical superiority of women in the membership. By way of contrast to the absence of women in Church management they accounted for 70.5 per cent of those on the membership roll. Moreover, the occupational status of female members was different to their male counterparts:

TABLE 4 – Social Status of Female and Male Members,
Hillhead Baptist Church, 1891.

| | Members in employment/ Direct receipt of income | | Members not in employment but allocated the same social status as the income earner in the family. | |
|--|--|--------|--|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Occupational Group (i) | | | | |
| A (Professional Group) | 7 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| B (Commercial Group) | 11 | 0 | 1 | 17 |
| C (Large Merchant Manufacturing Group) | 37 | 0 | 0 | 53 |
| D(Retired-Rentier Group) | 0 | 26 | 0 | 10 |
| E (Public Servants I) | 8 | 3 | 0 | 6 |
| F (Public Servants II) | 10 | 15 | 0 | 10 |
| G (Small Merchant – Tradesmen Group) | 10 | 23 | 1 | 16 |
| H (Skilled/Semi-skilled Group) | 15 | 20 | 1 | 19 |
| I (Unskilled) | 5 | 21 | 0 | 5 |
| TOTALS | 103 | 108 | 3 | 143 |

- (i) A, B, C, D = High Status
 E, F, G = Low Status
 H, I = Working Class

Women were strongly represented in category D characterised by those listed as “living on private means” and annuitants, most of whom were widows. Within category F governesses and teachers dominated as did housekeepers/lodging housekeepers and saleswomen in G. Women accounted for the majority of working-class occupations with

most being servants as illustrated by Sarah Bate, housemaid, and Margaret Gourlay, tablemaid, in the McDougal household, 2 Kingsburgh Gardens. John McDougal, a china merchant, also owned Myrtle Park in Cove where the household was living on Census day. Sarah Bate and Margaret Gourlay were the only members of a household with 12 people who were members of the Church.²³ By way of contrast male working-class Church members were employed in a wider range of industries with occupations such as compositors, power loom tenters, painters, riveters and labourers.

Although women in employment/direct receipt of income dominated category D, those whose social status was taken from the main income earner were significantly represented in professional occupations, finance and merchant-manufacturing. This reflected their husband's/fathers' near monopoly of these occupations exemplified by Annie Bell wife of James Bell of J. and F. Bell, tobacco manufacturers, 43 Brunswick Street. The Bell family lived at Northcote Villa, Dowanhill. In the Bell household of 6 children, all of whom were either 18 years of age or under, and 4 servants, only James and Annie Bell were Church members.²⁴

Many husbands and wives were Church members but this was not a uniform pattern. In a large number of cases the only Church member in the household was the wife/mother, a trend which transcended social class. The Campbell family lived at 136 Stirling Road but the only church member was Isabella, mother of Finlay and John, both doctors with the family employing Elizabeth Kennedy as a servant.²⁵ Helen Drysdale, wife of Robert Drysdale a retired muslin manufacturer, was the only Church member in the household²⁶ as was Harriet Denny, wife of Alfred Denny, a shoemaker living at 12 Henderson Street.²⁷ A smaller number of men were the sole family representative in the Church but Robert Bryce provides one example. He was the joint partner of Bryce, Junor and White, timber, colonial and commission merchants, 107 Bath Street and 22 Basinghall Street, London. His household consisted of his father, wife, daughter, 4 visitors and 2

²³ 1891 Census, Cove, 502 2.

²⁴ 1891 Post Office Directory and 1891 Census, Glasgow, 646 3 36.

²⁵ 1891 Census, Glasgow 644 5 2.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 646 3 42.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 644 9 72.

cooks but he was the only Church member.²⁸ These members suggest that motives for Church-going could transcend considerations of family and social class partly reflecting the more specific commitment required by the Baptist Church. Moreover, the Church represented one organisation in which women could play an active role. Although Church management was a male preserve the Church could not have functioned without the commitment of its women members. District collectors were women as were collectors for the Zenana mission; of 25 Sunday School Teachers, 18 were women and women served on the United Bands of Hope and Mercy Committee. Furthermore, many organisation were designed for women, notably the Young Women's Bible Class, the Mothers' Meeting and the Sewing Class.²⁹ Within the Church women gained a degree of independent status.

The Church roll was characterised by both a high turnover of members and continued allegiance by many families over several generations. Despite an overall growth in membership between 1884 and 1891, just over one third of the founding members were no longer on the roll by the beginning of the next decade, a trend only partly explained by death rates. The constantly changing Church roll largely resulted from population mobility with people moving in and out of the area. Twenty-eight people joined the Church through Partick Mission between 1894 and 1900 but by 1900 7 had left with 2 moving to Clydebanks, 2 to Dumfries, 1 to Peterhead, 1 to Kilmarnock and 1 to Newton Place United Free Church.³⁰ Moreover, the Church roll listed addresses outwith the Glasgow area. Elizabeth and Helen Alexander, members in 1884, lived in Kilcreggan, with addresses for 1891 members including Dalmeir, Greenock, Manchester, Wales and Calcutta. Many of those living a considerable distance from Cresswell Street also worshipped in their local Church, often as part of the Church of Scotland Congregation. By way of contrast other families had a long standing commitment to the Church with surnames such as Alexander, Arthur, Baird, Dick, MacDiarmid, Newlands, Petersen, Rose, Tulloch and Wingate featuring in Church rolls over several decades.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 646 3 43 and 1891 Post Office Directory.

²⁹ Hillhead Baptist Church Manual 1891.

³⁰ Hillhead Baptist Church, Roll of Partick Mission 1894-1900.

Most Church members lived within the Partick, West End, Port Dundas areas with many living in the same neighbourhood. Three families lived in Athole Gardens with 4 families in Huntly Terrace. In the Port Dundas district the Steel and Irvine families lived in Charlotte Street with the Bell family nearby in Canal Street. These families also shared a common country of birth, Ireland, and the heads of house, David Bell, Joseph Steel and William Irvine, were employed as foundry labourers highlighting common employment patterns in many families irrespective of social class.³¹ Elizabeth, Jessie, and Maggie Cameron were matron and school mistresses at the Industrial School Lochburn, Maryhill;³² Mrs Dove and her 2 daughters owned a Young Ladies School³³ and Alexander and Charles Rose owned the Clyde Paper Company.³⁴ It is more difficult to establish business links across families although many shared common occupations including accountants, solicitors, manufacturers, and warehousemen. Four heads of house, James Baird, Thomas Baird, Henry Birrell and Archibald Rae were marine insurance brokers but it is not possible to ascertain the extent to which they co-operated or competed with each other. Co-operation would likely to have been stronger between the Tulloch and MacDiarmid families since William Tulloch and Alan MacDiarmid were starch manufacturers at James Anderson and Company.³⁵ They were also two of the Church's first Trustees.

This analysis highlights several key trends in patterns of Church membership. The dominance of middle class men among Church managers was unrepresentative in a congregation encompassing all social classes and a majority of women. The substantial working-class presence largely comprised female servants who, in most cases, were not joined in the Church by their employers. Families formed the most common grouping within the Church but not to exclusion of individuals who chose to exercise their faith separate from others in the household. While many members lived a considerable distance from

³¹ 1891 Census, Glasgow 644 6 61 (Bell), and 644 6 55 (Irvine and Steel).

³² *Ibid.*, 622 1 21.

³³ *Ibid.*, 646 3 43 and 1891 Post Office Directory.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 646 3 46.

³⁵ 1891 Post Office Directory, 1891 Census 646 3 44 (Tulloch) and 646 3 45 (MacDiarmid), Hillhead Baptist Church, Church Deeds 1950 (held in the Church).

Hillhead the majority resided close to the Church and its mission stations often in the same area or street. Within and across families common commercial interests strengthened the bonds of faith. Nonetheless, the Church roll experienced a high turnover of members. This article now discusses the extent to which these trends either reflect wider patterns of Church allegiance and membership or indicate new directions for research into nineteenth-century church history.

Previous analyses of religion and society emphasised male, middle-class control over Church courts. A.A. MacLaren's study into Aberdeen Free and Established Church Kirk Sessions during the 1840s and 1850s demonstrated that they were almost entirely composed of middle-class members.³⁶ A similar study of Glasgow Presbyterianism revealed that of 208 elders in 7 congregations, only 8 were working class and none were women.³⁷ The predominantly middle-class church court featured in churches outwith the major Presbyterian denominations. Table 5 lists the Trustees of Raglan Street Methodist Circuit in 1878.

Church management required a relatively high socio-economic status. Office-bearers were often trustees and guarantors of debt on church buildings while also making substantial payments to church funds. Annual church reports across denominations reveal similarly high donations to those made by managers in Hillhead Baptist Church. Furthermore, managers and elders served on many other committees. Within Hillhead Baptist Church, Charles Rose, in addition to his Church management role, was Treasurer to the Building Fund and the District Mission. His wife was Treasurer of the Ladies' Committee.³⁸ James Alexander, an elder in Cambridge Street United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow, was also a manager, a missionary director and a Sabbath School teacher.³⁹ Most working-class church members did not have the financial resources, time, or flexibility of working hours, to

³⁶ A.A. MacLaren, *Religion and Social Class, The Disruption Years in Aberdeen*, 30, 219-220.

³⁷ Peter Hillis, "Presbyterianism and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Glasgow. A Study of Nine Churches" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1978), 286-287.

³⁸ Hillhead Baptist Church Manual, 1891.

³⁹ Cambridge Street United Presbyterian Church, Annual Report, 1855.

satisfy the explicit and implicit requirements attached to the post of elder, manager or deacon.

Hillhead Baptist Church also mirrored the broad social composition of other Baptist Churches and other denominations. In 1870 the membership roll of Hope Street Baptist Church, Glasgow, stood at 295 of whom 109 (37 per cent) were men and 186 (63 per cent) women. Members were traced through Post Office Directories and the 1871 Census but 108 (36.6 per cent) could not be identified partly due to a change of addresses between 1870 and 1871. Nonetheless, Table 6 illustrates a similar range of occupations to those in Hillhead Baptist Church as shown in Table 3 above.

The Presbyterian churches could also claim a wide social base encompassing middle and working class members. Table 7 demonstrates this range in parents bringing their children for baptism to seven Glasgow churches between 1845 and 1865.

TABLE 7 – Status of Church Members⁴⁰

| Total Number of Parents | Status | | | |
|-------------------------|------------|------|------|---------------|
| | Identified | High | Low | Working Class |
| 3993 | 3666 | 619 | 604 | 2443 |
| Percentage | | 15.5 | 15.1 | 61.1 |

However, Hillhead Baptist Church highlights the important role of women in the Church. In his history of the Baptists in Scotland D.W. Bebbington stated that the average ratio of women to men was 2:1, a claim substantiated by evidence from Hillhead and Hope Street Churches.⁴¹ This mirrored the position within Baptist and Congregational nonconformity in England where between 1826 and 1854 women represented 65.2 per cent of church membership.⁴² Hillhead Baptist Church provides a detailed insight into the social status of women church members which covered a wide range of

⁴⁰ Peter Hillis, "Presbyterianism and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Glasgow. A Study of Nine Churches", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 32 (1981).

⁴¹ Bebbington, *The Baptists in Scotland*, 85.

⁴² Clive Field, "Adam and Eve. Gender in the English Free Church Constituency".

occupations, with the greatest concentration either working in domestic service and education or living on annuities. Women made a significant contribution to the Church's representation among the working class although middle class female adherents played a central role in mission and other Church schemes.

The numerical superiority of women was not confined to non-conformist denominations since it featured in churches throughout Scotland, as shown in Table 8. Callum Brown and Jayne Stephenson argued that "the pressures (from employers) to attend church were greatest for domestic servants",⁴³ but within Hillhead Baptist Church this persuasion did not extend to joining their employer's Church since most servants were the only member of the Church in the household. The evidence suggests that the Church played an important role in the social and religious life of many women demonstrating varying degrees of independence from the family and/or employers. Nonetheless, for other members family loyalties and tradition played an important role in determining church allegiance strengthened in turn by business and commercial links. The examples quoted above for Hillhead Baptist Church were replicated in and between other congregations. Henry Auld, an elder in Govan Parish Church, and his son ran a muslin-manufacturing business in the Candleriggs; Alexander and Robert Cochrane, deacons in Barony Parish Church, were partners in the St Rollox flint-glass works; Alexander Allan, a manager in Wellington Street United Presbyterian Church, and his brother, James Allan, a manager in Cambridge Street United Presbyterian Church, ran a shipping business. One hall in the present Wellington Church is named after the Allan family.⁴⁴ Diagram 1 illustrates the complex links within the shipping industry between different churches and denominations. The extent to which these and other links facilitated church unions is a subject worthy of further research.

The stability provided by family commitments contrasted with a high percentage of additions and removals from the membership rolls

⁴³ Callum G. Brown and Jayne D. Stephenson, "Sprouting Wings? Women and Religion in Scotland c.1890-1950", 110.

⁴⁴ Hillis, "Presbyterianism and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Glasgow", 305 (James and Alexander Allan), 306 (Auld) and 312-313 (Alexander and Robert Cochrane).

of Hillhead and other churches. Between 1888 and 1898 652 new members joined Elgin Place Congregational Church, Glasgow with most coming by "Presbyterian certificate" or "transfer".⁴⁵ In the 37 years following their entry on the 1870 roll for Hope Street Baptist Church just over half the membership died. Fifty two people left to attend other Baptist Churches, including Hillhead; 3 went to other churches; 30 left Scotland and 42 either resigned or were excluded and withdrawn.⁴⁶ Membership rolls reflected Scotland's mobile population.

Conclusion

In transferring from Adelaide Place to Hillhead Baptist Church in the 1880s the Shanks' family illustrate the more general move to the West End by many Glaswegians. The family's status within the city's manufacturing sector⁴⁷ mirrored the high percentage of the middle class on Church rolls across denominations. However, the Shanks' family did not represent the majority of working class members in Hillhead and other churches. Therefore, in its social composition Hillhead Baptist Church was broadly representative of other churches in Scotland. However, this profile of Hillhead Baptist Church emphasises more complex patterns of church membership combining a range of influences including personal decisions regarding faith and choice of church; gender, notably the status of women in society; social class alongside loyalties and traditions involving family and business. In many of these determinants Hillhead conformed to more general patterns in other churches but this analysis points to the need for further research in three key areas. Our understanding of how links between church members influenced the Scottish economy, in such areas as transactions and mergers, and the pattern of denominational unions would be enhanced by more detailed analysis of these business and commercial inter-relationships. The high turnover in Church membership illustrates one aspect of population mobility, but it presented church managers with difficulties in ensuring a constant

⁴⁵ Roll of Members of Elgin Place Congregational Church, 1835-1962, National Archives of Scotland, CH14/2/1.

⁴⁶ Roll of Members Hope Street Baptist Church, 1870-1917.

⁴⁷ William Shanks owned William Shanks and Company, Muslin Manufacturers, 253 Argyle Street and 5 Madeira Court, Post Office Directory and 1891 Census, Glasgow, 646 3 33.

revenue stream. However, the limited examples in this article require additional profiles from congregations throughout Scotland. Detailed analyses of other congregational rolls would also demonstrate the extent to which the women who chose to attend Hillhead Baptist Church free of any family or work commitments highlight more general patterns of allegiance and membership.

University of Strathclyde

Appendix 1 – Classification System

A Professional Group (generally university graduates).

1. Advocates, lawyers, partners in legal firms.
2. Professors, lecturers, physicians and surgeons.
3. Principals, rectors, headmasters of important educational establishments.

B Commercial Group.

1. Bankers, bank managers and agents.
2. Cashiers, principal clerks, accountants, insurance company managers, brokers and agents, company treasurers.

C Large Merchant-Manufacturing Group.

1. Suppliers of capital goods, timber etc., construction companies, ironfounders, textile manufacturers, wholesalers and importers, distillers, company managers.
2. Suppliers of consumer goods and services catering for the middle class, silversmiths, silk mercers.
3. Suppliers of food and wines, grocers, vintners, etc.
4. Commission merchants, ship agents.

D Retired-Rentier Group.

1. Shipowners.
2. Landlords, those retired and living on income from rented property, shares or capital, annuitants.
3. Farmers.

E Public Servants (I).

1. Druggists.
2. Local government officials, building inspectors, architects, surveyors, house factors.
3. Shipmasters, marine and civil engineers.

F Public Servants (II).

1. Teachers, divinity students who were also often city missionaries.
2. Clerks, writers.

G Small Merchant-Tradesmen Group.

1. Shopkeepers.
2. Self-employed tradesmen, agents living in premises, commercial travellers.
3. Foremen, overseers.
4. Retired tradesmen and shopkeepers.
5. Salesmen/women.
6. Lodging housekeepers/housekeepers.
7. Governesses.

H. Skilled/Semi-Skilled.

1. Engineers, boiler-makers, joiners, smiths etc.
2. Nurses, cooks.

I. Unskilled Workers.

1. Labourers, carters, porters, chimney sweeps, janitors, etc.
2. Housemaid, table-maids, kitchen-maids, etc.

High Status: Groups A, B, C, D.

Low Status: Groups E, F, G.

Working Class: Groups H and I.

| TABLE 1 - Managers, Hillhead Baptist Church, 1897 ⁴⁸ | | |
|---|------------------------|--|
| Name | Address | Occupation |
| John Alexander | 3 Queen's Crescent | Doctor |
| John Arthur | 40 Athole Gardens | Of Arthur, Allen and Fletcher and Company, Turkey Red Dyers and Calico Printers, 4 West Regent Street. |
| Walter Dick | 1 Athole Gardens | Of James Finlay and Company, Merchants and Manufacturers, 22 West Nile Street. |
| John Hamilton | 1 North Park Terrace | Director of A. and S. Henry and Company, Merchants, Manufacturers and Commission Merchants, 29 Exchange Square. |
| Richard Hunter | 2 Park Circus | Of Hunter, Barr and Company, Wholesale Manufacturers and Warehousemen, 27 Jamaica Street. Also Edinburgh, Leeds, Newcastle and Belfast. |
| John Lamont | 10 Doune Gardens | Of John Lamont and Company, Colliery Agents and Merchants, 136 Buchanan Street; Depots, Monkland Canal Basin, St. Rollox, Garrigad, Ruchill and Springburn. |
| James McClure | 5 Montgomerie Quadrant | Of Archibald Thomson, Black and Company, Hemp and Wire Rope Manufacturers and Sailmakers and Sailcloth Manufacturers, offices and warehouses, 204 Elliot Street and 58 West Howard Street; Works, Shettleston. |
| Rev. John McLellan | 8 Oxford Street | Professor of Theology, Baptist Theological Hall. |
| Archibald Petersen | 5 Hillsborough Terrace | Of Dempster, Petersen and Company, Produce and Commission Merchants, 111 Union Street. |
| Alexander Rose | 8 Sardinia Terrace | Of the Clyde Paper Company, Eastfield, Rutherglen. |
| Charles Rose | Belmont, Dowanhill | Of the Clyde Paper Company, Eastfield, Rutherglen. |
| George Sharp | 13 Kersland Terrace | Of George Sharp and Company, Masons and Builders, 37 Holmhead Street. |
| William Tulloch | 41 Athole Gardens | Of James Anderson and Company, Starch and Gum Manufacturers, 124 St. Vincent Street; Works, Surrey Street. |

TABLE 5 – Trustees of Raglan Street Methodist Circuit, Glasgow 1878.⁴⁹

| Name | Address | Occupation |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| Robert Ellison | 25 North Albion St. | Of Tyrer and Ellison, Wine Merchants, 182 West George Street. |
| Duncan Miller | 125 John St. | - |
| David Kenny | 36 Dalhousie St. | Of Kenny and Brown, Brassfounders, Gasalier makers and Gasfitters, 46 Sauchiehall Street; Works 213 Buchanan Street and 9 Bath Street. |
| William Buchanan | 12 Newton St. | Hay, Grain and Seed Merchant, 397 Park Road and Kyle Street, Dobbies Loan. |
| Alexander Baird | 110 Hill St. | Of Russell, MacFarlane and Company, Scotch Tweed Manufacturers, 4 Queen Street. |
| Alexander Brown | 35 Carnarvon St. | House Factor, Property and Insurance Agent, 102 Burnside Street. |
| Parlane MacFarlane | 70 Wilton St. | Of Loudon, MacFarlane and Gray, Wholesale Confectioners and Preserve Makers, 16 Campbellfield Street. |
| George Stewart | - | - |
| Frederick Grosvenor | 7 Annfield Pl. | Stoneware Manufacturer, Bridgeton Pottery, London Road. |
| Alexander McIver | 448 St George's Rd. | Slater, 18 Cambridge Street. |
| James Major | 17 Shamrock St. | Butcher and American Meat Depot, 9 Shamrock Street. |
| Alexander Donaldson | Coldstream St., Keppochhill | - |
| William Dunstone | 1 Bellvue Tce. | Goods Superintendent, North British Railway. |
| Robert Law | 13 Belmont Tce. | Of John Law and Company, Manufacturers of Tinned, Untinned and Enamelled Hollow Ware, Glasgow Foundry, Port Dundas. |
| Francis Caulfield | 3 Royal Tce. | Of Caulfield and Company, Glass and China Importers and Agents, 68 Jamaica Street. |

⁴⁹ Raglan Street Circuit, Quarterly Schedule 1878-1890. Glasgow City Archives, TD 853/3/1 and Post Office Directories 1875-1880.

| TABLE 6 – Social Status of Members, Hope Street Baptist Church, 1870. ⁵⁰ | | | | | |
|---|--|--------|--|--------|--|
| Occupational Group | Members in Employment/ Direct Receipt of Income | | Members not in Employment but Allocated the Same Social Status as the Income Earner in the Family. | | |
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | |
| A (Professional Group) | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| B (Commercial Group) | 5 | 0 | 0 | 4 | |
| C (Large Merchant Manufacturing Group) | 19 | 1 | 0 | 18 | |
| D (Retired-Rentier Group) | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | |
| E (Public Servants I) | 2 | 4 | 0 | 1 | |
| F (Public Servants II) | 13 | 9 | 0 | 6 | |
| G (Small Merchant – Tradesmen Group) | 17 | 22 | 1 | 16 | |
| H (Skilled-Semi-skilled Group) | 10 | 12 | 0 | 10 | |
| I (Unskilled) | 2 | 1 | 0 | 4 | |
| Total Classified | 70 | 55 | 2 | 60 | |
| Percentage of total membership (295) | 23.7 | 18.6 | 0.6 | 20.3 | |

⁵⁰ Roll of Members Hope Street Baptist Church, Glasgow, 1870. Records kept in Adelaide Place Baptist Church. The Church role only identified members in 1870. The roll begins by listing all the members in July 1870. Thereafter it is more difficult to identify the membership in any given year.

| TABLE 8 – Gender Analysis of Selected Presbyterian Churches 1847-1877 ⁵¹ | | | | | | |
|---|--|-------------------------|------|-----------------|--------|-------------------|
| Area | Church | Total Church Membership | Male | Male Percentage | Female | Female Percentage |
| Urban | Barony Parish Church, Glasgow, 1852 | 1129 | 464 | 41 | 667 | 59 |
| | St. Enoch's Free Church, Glasgow, 1847 | 508 | 166 | 33 | 342 | 67 |
| Lowland | Kilsyth Parish Church, 1872-1877 | 887 | 411 | 46 | 476 | 54 |
| | Scone Old Parish Church, 1848-1852 | 795 | 349 | 44 | 446 | 56 |
| | Scone Free Church, 1857-1864 | 337 | 136 | 40 | 201 | 60 |
| Highland | Ullapool Established Church, 1876 | 29 | 10 | 34 | 19 | 66 |
| | South Uist and Barra Free Church, 1870 | 28 | 12 | 43 | 16 | 57 |
| | Lismore Parish Church, 1870 | 65 | 32 | 49 | 33 | 51 |
| | Cromarty Free Church, 1871 | 204 | 54 | 26 | 150 | 74 |
| | Cromarty Parish Church, 1877 | 41 | 7 | 17 | 34 | 83 |

⁵¹ Barony Parish Church Communion Roll, 1852, Glasgow City Archives, CH2/173/129, St. Enoch's Free Church Communion Roll, 1847, Glasgow City Archives, CH3/162/18, Kilsyth Parish Church Communion Roll, 1872-1877, Glasgow City Archives, CH2/216/35, Scone Old Parish Church Communion Roll, 1848-1852, National Archives of Scotland, CH2/803/1, Scone Free Church Communion Roll, 1857-1864, National Archives of Scotland, CH3/1333/2, Ullapool Established Church Kirk Session Minutes, 1876, National Archives of Scotland, CH2/1202/1, South Uist and Barra Free Church Kirk Session Minutes, 1870, National Archives of Scotland, CH3/1127/1, Lismore Parish Church Communion Roll, 1869-1888, National Archives of Scotland, CH2/814/4, Cromarty Free Church Communion Roll, 1871, National Archives of Scotland, CH3/586/1 1, Cromarty Parish Church Communion Roll, 1877, National Archives of Scotland, CH2/672/14.